

# THE NEW REPUBLIC.

VOL. 1,

CLEVELAND, JUNE 28, 1862.

NO. 11.

## The Union as it Was.

What do these constitutional croakers mean? Do they intend to tell us that there can be no Union without Slavery? Do they mean that there can be no Constitution if Slavery is abolished? Is, then, the wild phantasy that Slavery is the corner-stone of Republican institutions accepted as the one idea of free government? Is this system of oppression the alpha and the omega—the beginning and the ending—of the American Republic? We are told that we must have the Union as it was. With all my heart! Can we not have a Union and a Constitution and a Republic though Slavery should pass away? Would our political fabric crumble though there were no Stanly to break up common schools, exile native-born citizens, and drive the shrinking, loyal fugitive back to her master?

This is the strangest infatuation that ever frenzied the human brain. The Union is for freedom—the Constitution was ordained for freedom—the Republic is for freedom, and yet Union, Constitution, and the Republic are broken, violated and gone, if we do not preserve and perpetuate Slavery! Was there no heaven when Satan and his traitorous hordes were driven to the pit? Cannot a man be well unless he has a cancer gnawing at his vitals? We must have the Union as it was. That is what I desire—the Union as it was at the beginning. If a crew mutiny and convert a merchant vessel into a pirate ship, does the owner who captures the ship, hangs the crew, and returns the vessel to the purposes of lawful commerce, destroy or injure the vessel? So with the ship Constitution. The slaveholders had converted it into a slave pirate ship. All that we propose is to pull down their black and bloody flag, throw overboard their manacles and handcuffs, hoist the flag of Liberty, freight it with human rights, and return it to the pathway where our Fathers launched it to sail evermore on a voyage of freedom.—[Owen Lovejoy.]

## The Uses of War.

What is more selfish and vindictive than war! and yet war is a great educator. There is nothing like it. It is a friction that grinds men to dust, yet it develops power, enterprise, courage, heroism, and new ideas: new health and growth uniformly follow. Men think the only question involved is one of money, territory, reputation or present safety, and do not see that the whole order of things is at stake, and that a spirit may be evoked that shall put a new face on history. Everything rotten, false, insincere or honey-combed, must give way in a strain that accompanies war: and our feet once more reach solid ground. False relations, false economies, false pretensions, that in time of peace accumulate more or less rapidly, as does rust on unused iron, or as ashes on an undisturbed fire, are swept away, and we stand for only what we are in nature, and prevail only so far as we are imbedded in fact.

War is always a present calamity and a potential blessing. Rank and thrifty vines need cropping to give them root; young trees need trimming and an occasional vigorous shake, and greensward grows grass all the more abundantly for being now and then subjected to the savage discipline of the harrow. In history the sword has been the pruning-knife, the spade and the harrow, and has been administered to life in the midst of death. The race has had a severe schooling; war, under Providence, has been a powerful instrumentality for good, and his heart is running away with his head who fancies its day is past, and that no good will henceforth result from it.

Men do not know for what they fight. Their declared motive is usually selfish and mean, but furnishes the occasion for higher laws to develop themselves.—[J. Burroughs.]

Hasten, O God, the coming of the age of Individualism!—[Gerri Smith.]

### Admiration.

DEAR EDITOR:—This evening, as I leaned from my window, I heard the strangest complaint tremble up from our own green Earth toward Heaven. The Moon, with a face all glorious, had just come over the eastern hill, and the ponds in the emerald meadow below me lay in a glittering stillness, and not a breeze dared to whisper. One little conceited bird, rocking in his nest high up in the maple boughs, ventured to chirp after everything else was still; but he, too, by and by was awed into silence, and nestled down to sleep. The mysterious hush drew me out of my mortal chrysalis, and the ear of the conscious spirit was opened. The Earth was murmuring to the Moon, and these were the words which my soul heard:

"How I should love and admire you, bright Moon, if you had only proved yourself to be the ideal planet which my affection once made you. When I first saw you sailing in peerless majesty through the vast and high expanse of space, I gazed and worshipped. Every day I talked to my lover, the Sun, of your mild dignity and strange attraction; but afterwards I learned that it was his kiss that made your face wear such a pure, bright beauty, and that you lived and moved in the full light of his admiration. Yet you was not content with his attention, but you must, in your own peculiar, calm manner, display yourself to the grand old Ocean, (who had heretofore been all my own) and get him, too, under your influence. Indeed, so perfectly have you insinuated yourself into his favor, that you regulate the very pulses of his heart. Then I have noticed that poets, lovers, and all the race of fairies and elves, have yielded to the witchery of your charms. Had you been satisfied with the admiration of one, even had it been my own loved Sun, you would not have suffered so in my esteem; but your evident desire to please all—your passion to win admiration, has, I am sorry to say, changed my regard for you. Had you been more discreet, and not so imprudently frank, more chary in your first acquaintance with your lovers, and not so artlessly familiar, there would not have been such a detraction from your dignity, neither should I have thought you so heartless. But still I cherish a hope that you may yet be able to conquer your ruling passion, a love of admiration, and that you will some day become the ideal planet I once loved."

Earth ceased speaking, and a sigh from Nature's own breast breathed up faintly in the silence. Then I listened anxiously for the Moon's defence, and like clear distant notes from silver chords, her voice came down, charming the air in its vibrations.

"Dear Earth, do not murmur at me because I

have lived my own nature, and remained true to the laws of my being. If I have won admiration, it was not because I have sought it from a selfish love of attention, but because those duties which are my part of the universal economy to perform, have fixed me in a situation that renders me an object of observation and attraction. I have not intended to be selfish, or to encroach upon your rights, or cause you to be disappointed in me; and I cherish a serene regard for you which no murmuring can lessen or change. The sphere in which an all-wise power has purposed to have me move, renders it impossible for me to be obscure, or to affect coyness; and if I possess attraction, I hope always to remember that I receive it from a larger source of light and radiance. It is impossible for the rays of my regard to fall only upon one chosen object, for the freedom of my nature loves to bestow some little beam upon everything that appears in my course. Pardon me for shining, and fulfilling the designs of my existence."

Here the words died away, and the Moon, calm in her purpose, moved on toward the West, pushing her way through the thick clouds that were closing around her path, while the troubled Earth began to gossip with the stars about her, and the mischievous stars winked back their approbation. This unexpected insight into the affairs of Nature led me into serious thought and reflection upon the subject of Admiration.

You may call it strength or weakness—a failing or a virtue—that principle which forms an element in almost every individual mind—a desire to please. It is the evident proportion it bears to the other mental faculties, and the consequent influence it exercises upon the conduct, that constitutes it a failing or a virtue in the possessor. Is there one truthful person who will not readily acknowledge it is pleasant to be admired? The individual (and I hope I may never meet such an one) who is callous to the esteem, praise, and even love of those about him, can be but an unseemly excrescence upon the fair face of society, of no use or worth. On the other hand, the individual whose conduct is regulated solely by a desire to win admiration, becomes a mere tool and sycophant, and never fails finally to lose the reward he has been so anxious to gain.

That this desire should ever become the actuating motive of our lives would be a cause for lament, and deserving of censure; yet that it may sometimes be considered laudable, instead of reprehensible, when it is combined with the principles of right, and allied with the steady purpose of well-doing, I can but believe. The particular cause which has made one an object of admiration, should influence

our judgments in regard to that individual's mental strength or weakness. If I was a beautiful woman, the pulse at my heart would hardly be quickened to receive a compliment for my beauty. I would bid the admirer pay his adulations to Dame Nature, the molder and fashioner of the mortal casket. I, myself, the unseen spirit, might be both unworthy and unloveable, though my face were as beautiful as Raphael's ideals. But should I for the active pursuance of duty, or for the cultivation of warm-heartedness, receive the meed of praise, I know my eyes would give out the quick sparkle of gladness, and my soul would thank God that it possessed one attribute worthy of admiration.

That there is danger of becoming vain and self-conceited, even when the admiration we gain is the reward of actual soul worth, is an evident fact; yet I believe and know that men and women who work for the soul's development, and who, sooner or later, are sure to receive the reward of appreciation, praise and affection, are, nevertheless, for the welfare of a cause, and for the truth's sake, content to live under censure, and voluntarily receive the reproach of the world.

But to what and to whom is praise due for the power we may possess to command admiration? To our own resolutions, and to the advantages of science and education, we usually attribute the improvement that has been made upon our original gift; yet for the first spiritual germ we must thank the great Eternal Cause. And what are science and education but the gradual unfolding of God's blessings to man? "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." So for spiritual or physical beauty we have no reason to be vain; and if the mind chance to gather in its endeavors the least shadow of perfection, let us say with the apostle, "I thank God that I am what I am."

AMERICA.

Granite Hills, June 13, 1862.

### **The Blacks and the War.**

The blacks have done gallantly what they have been allowed to do. Had the military necessity of their emancipation been admitted and declared at the outset, they would have done a hundred times more. Proclaim emancipation to-morrow, and ask for one hundred thousand of them to serve the Union cause in any manful capacity, and they will very soon report themselves. If the Nation thinks best to wait awhile, so, we presume, will they. The moral of this struggle is the inalienable right of man to be treated as man; and that truth will be vindicated by the result, whether in the re-establishment or the overthrow of the Union.—[New York Tribune.

### **A Letter.**

DEAR FRIEND:—You ask me to write, and say any subject will be acceptable. Can a woman write on a subject and stick to her text?—that's the question. I, at least, cannot pursue a connected train of thought to-day. "Thoughts are brain-sweat," and I cannot call these fleeting images which are passing through my mind by so dignified a name.

The NEW REPUBLIC—how suggestive the name in these troublous times! Is order to evolve out of this chaos, and a new Republic of love and harmony to arise from the ashes of the old slavery-tainted monster, who in his death throes is making himself more horribly disgusting? Is the "Good Time" coming for which we have waited and prayed so long? Is Love, Equality, Fraternity, to be the watchwords in that new Republic? Will Faith, Hope and Charity find an abiding place in men's hearts? If not, this terrible struggle, which is shaking the continent from the center to the circumference, will have been in vain—the precious blood deluging the land will have been spilled for naught. Reformers, it is time for you to arouse and gird on your armor to assist in the crisis which is upon us, and for which you, more than others, are accountable. Let the Conservatives, who have deprecated change, still remain inactive; but you must work. Not in a noisy, blustering way, but by striving to put into practice what you have so long preached, and helping to guide the floundering ship into the only sure haven of peace, which is justice to both white and black. Reformers have mined and sapped the old structure until it is ready to fall about our ears, but they have given us nothing practicable in its place, and seemingly frightened at the storm, some have drawn within their shells, while others are deprecating this "bloody war." There are noble exceptions, but they are struggling on alone, without capital, or even labor, which could be given if their brethren in the faith had ever been sincere in their professions of love for the race. There is more truth in Mr. Overton's despairing articles than his critics give him credit for. It is discouraging to see the vacillation of some, and the complete breaking down of others. But why find fault? I suppose all act as they must.

I sat down to tell you how well I liked the NEW REPUBLIC. It seems to be the right thing in the right time, and to be discussing some of the vital questions of the day—not all, for the time has not come to give all abuses a thorough ventilation. I have hopes that the little sheet will make its way in the world, and come as a messenger of hope to many despairing souls. I want to lend you a help-

ing hand, but I can do nothing here in the midst of Foggydom. But I have faith that somewhere I shall find my work. The days of my life go by dreary and monotonous. I want to grapple with the world—to feel that I have really lived, before I pass off this stage of existence. "It will all be right in the morning," so let us do all that our hands find to do, and keep looking and praying for the "Good Time." Yours for a life of faith and works,

JENNIE.

Victory, N. Y., June 18, 1862.

### Necessity.

Spirit of Nature! all sufficing power,  
Necessity! thou mother of the world!  
Unlike the God of human error, thou  
Requiest no prayers or praises; the caprice  
Of man's weak will belongs no more to thee  
Than do the changeful passions of his breast  
To thy unvarying harmony: the slave,  
Whose horrible lusts spread misery o'er the world,  
And the good man, who lives, with virtuous pride,  
His being in the sight of happiness,  
That springs from his own works; the poison-tree,  
Beneath whose shade all life is withered up,  
And the fair oak, whose leafy dome affords  
A temple where the vows of happy love  
Are registered, are equals in thy sight:  
No love, no hate, thou cherishest; revenge  
And favoritism, and worst desire of fame,  
Thou knowest not; all that the wide world contains  
Are but thy passive instruments, and thou  
Regardest them all with an impartial eye,  
Whose joy or pain thy nature cannot feel,  
Because thou art not human sense,  
Because thou art not human mind.

Yes, when the sweeping storm of time  
Has sung its death-dirge o'er the ruined fane  
And broken altars of the almighty fiend,  
Whose name usurps thy honors, and the blood  
Through centuries clotted there, has floated down  
The tainted flood of ages, shalt thou live  
Unchangeable! A shrine is raised to thee  
Which, nor the tempest breath of time,  
Nor the interminable flood,  
Over earth's slight pageant rolling,  
Availeth to destroy,—  
The sensitive extension of the world,  
That wondrous and eternal fane,  
Where pain and pleasure, good and evil join,  
To do the will of strong necessity,  
And life, in multitudinous shapes,  
Still pressing forward where no term can be,  
Like hungry and unresting flame  
Curls round the eternal columns of its strength.

—[Shelley.]

### Critique.

MR. EDITOR:—In No. 7, under the head of "Magnetism," and in recommending the Harbinger of Health, you express much that to me is true and important; but you make one or two statements, which I cannot forbear to question. You say that "flowers, trees and animals, obey Nature's laws, and secure that health and perfection of structure denied to the higher order of beings, made stupid by the arbitrary moralities." Now I am hardly satisfied with such an unqualified statement.

In the first place I am not sure that flower, tree and animal do obey Nature's laws better than I do. But if they do, I have this excuse to make: that their duties and functions are few, simple, well-defined, and in a narrow compass; while mine are very numerous, exceedingly complex, undefined and world-wide. I question whether flowers, trees and animals all "secure health and perfection of structure," even if any of them do. I think facts are against you here. The vegetable and animal world, to my mind, is as full of disease and defects as the "higher orders" of being. It does not seem consistent to me that the lower orders of life and being should be, in the aggregate, more healthy and perfect in structure than the human.

Are not our fruit trees and fruit the prey to various diseases; and worms and insects? Do not scrofula and consumption pervade flowers, trees and animals? We often find "that glorious tree yonder," to which you refer, to be rotten-hearted or hollow-hearted, and the worm or the grub gnawing at its vitals.

I doubt whether "the conditions of health are within each individual organization," although Mr. Davis says so, and you agree with him. Has a child born full of scrofula, or syphilitic taint, or small, weak lungs, or puny, weak muscles, "the conditions of health within him"? I do not believe it. Nearly fifty per cent. of all who died in New York, recently, in one week, were children under five years old. Did these children have within them the conditions of health? If so, when does a man have within him the conditions of ill health or disease? Is there nothing in the original constitution? Yea, verily; and far more than in all else. There is some analogy between a flower, a tree and a man, but we are very liable to err in comparing simple with complex organizations. If a simple organization is more obedient to Nature, its holds upon life are few and frail: and if a complex structure is more liable to disease or derangement, there is compensation in its having "many strings to its bow," and many and tenacious holds upon existence. My conclusion is that throughout all Nature there is "none perfect; no not one." J. H. C.

### Where Rests the Responsibility?

This Nation has fairly begun to experience the terrible realities of war. The bitter, stunning agony has already come to a thousand hearts. The heavy, wasting sorrow is falling upon many a family circle. The blighting shadow is creeping over, alas! how many thresholds. The dull and crushing strokes are falling. God and angels pity the bereaved and sorrowing ones! From these merciless consequences there is now no door of escape.

Whence have come all these cruel wrongs? This deplorable condition which has rendered the barbarous concomitant of a civil war possible? Somewhere in the sphere of causes may we find the source, whence flow these wounds, bruises, and pains to Humanity's great heart!

Consequences so momentous and deplorable result from no sudden moral revulsion. No accident has brought upon this Nation its fearful penalty. For long years the storm has been gathering—the torrent been accumulating. Our people, schooled in the methods of oppression, have grown cold and unresponsive to better impulses, till now no avenue is open to advancement, but through the fiery ordeal.

The voice of justice—which is the voice of God—and which, as well as mercy, pleads for the weak and defenceless—has been crying "Let my people go." But in vain the cry! One half of this Nation have been steadily lapsing towards barbarism, by reason of the exercise of irresponsible power, habits of indolence, and ungovernable passion. Meanwhile the other half have blinded their eyes and steeled their hearts against the claims of humanity—refused to recognize the brotherhood of man, and persisted in decreeing injustice, oppression, cruelty, and wrong, as the portion of the defenceless few.

To day we are involved in one common woe, in consequence of this persistent, manifold injustice. We are beginning to realize ourselves what for long years our dark-hued brothers and sisters have fully experienced. Family separations, wounds, bruises, and bleeding hearts are not new to the four millions of blacks. Not one tithe of the suffering is yet heaped upon us, that has been the continued portion of the African race.

Still we fail as a nation to feel ourselves allied by the bonds of sympathy to "these, our brethren." The interests of this class of people are regarded in the light not of simple justice and right, but of commercial profit and political advantage. Poisoned by prejudice against color, many really aspiring minds fail to see the difference between opposers and defenders of chattel slavery, and desire to see

Garrison, Sumner, Greeley, and other champions of Freedom involved in common ruin with Jeff. Davis and his compeers—champions of Slavery.

It would seem that the furnace of affliction has not yet tried the hearts of this class. They still fail to see that injustice and oppression are as foully wrong when dealt out to a dark-skinned as to a white brother. They forget that God is our father, and all men are our brethren.

In view of such obliviousness, reader, where rests the responsibility of this war?—[Herald of Progress.

### Our Military System.

The American soldier is an American freeman, and although in an emergency like the present, he readily submits to military bondage for his country's sake, he expects and has a right to expect that his intelligence and motives for entering the service will be respected. We regret the necessity of saying that in ninety cases out of a hundred he enters the service only to be disappointed in this respect.

The organization of our army is radically wrong, or rather the practical workings of the organization put to the blush our vaunted boastings of advanced civilization and freedom. The common soldier at best is merely a serf, for whose life there is no more regard than for that of the mules who excite profanity at the lips of all army teamsters. He is badly clothed, badly fed, cheated out of his commutations, worked like a cart horse, deprived of all comforts, subjected to abuse; and when worn out by hard service, or wounded in battle, does not receive, in most cases, the care bestowed by the authorities upon the common paupers of the country. Could the book of private grief be unsealed, and the story of thousands who have died through needless exposure, or have been murdered by useless severe marching, or have quietly died far away from home for the want of medical attention, be told, a picture would be presented that would exceed the horrors of the most terrible carnage. It is a story that has yet to be told, and as it grows in age, each day accumulates startling evidences against the errors of the American military system.

All these errors, in our opinion, grow out of the old regular army. It is based upon the principle that the officer is a gentleman, and the soldier the next thing to a brute. No tasks are too severe, no duties too laborious for the common soldier. He must eat the commonest food, wear the commonest and ill-shaped clothing, look up to his officer as a superior being, and obey orders. This idea has been instilled into the mind of every graduate at West Point, and thus has spread throughout the entire army. These "regulars," wherever you find them, with very few exceptions, act upon this principle, and they are sufficiently numerous to have made the entire army of over half a million of men about as uncomfortable as so many intelligent human beings can be.—[Cincinnati Times.

### "God's Way is Best."

"But God's way is best, and He seems to have decided that it is not so important that the Rebellion shall be suppressed soon, as that it shall be thoroughly and radically exterminated. The hearts of rulers and of generals are in His hands, and the issues of campaigns are subordinate to the consummation of His purposes. But for this, the traitors would have been defeated at Bull Run, as with tolerable management on our side they must have been, when a pro-Slavery counter-revolution at the South would have restored us the Union as it was, and saved its animating soul for further mischief. Had our armies been handled half as well as our fleets have been, the war would long since have been over, and the Cotton States once more dictating and bullying in Congress. It is not thus, because it is not best that it should be."—[N. Y. Daily Tribune, May 30.]

This is the latest view taken of the Bull Run butchery that has attracted my attention. But it is in agreement with what I understand to be Brother Barry's view of "the great Wisdom." Four days later, under the head—"The Reverse Before Richmond"—the Tribune says: "We are compelled to acknowledge a reverse, with all its demoralizing effects on one side, and encouragement on the other. Why this happened, time will show." Whatever time may show, in regard to the acts of men in the matter, the Tribune must recognize, in this Union reverse, one of its God's purposes. This "great Wisdom" is but a great tyrant—a great slaveholder—a great war-maker—a great blood-shedder—a great brutalizer. The tyranny none will pretend to justify; except on the assumption that it is exercised in wisdom that is incomprehensible, accompanied by power that is irresistible; and the recognition of these produces a sense of self-dependence that prepares for recognizing the remaining part of this trinity—namely, goodness that is unimpeachable, unquestionable. But the making of this corner of the triangle is just as arbitrary a process as that of making either of the others. It is simply the third assumption—that the treatment received must be of goodness because it is of wisdom and power. It is placing the same control over men that men exercise over horses. Our success with horses depends on our keeping them in ignorance of their own powers. The success of slaveholders with their slaves is the same. The success of the "great Wisdom" with those it designedly deprives of wisdom is the same. The obsequiousness, the servility, that recognizes a designing hand, too good to be unkind and too wise to be mistaken, in all the treatment we receive that makes us miserable, is the same as that in the black slave toward his white master.

Before Gen. Scott went to France, the responsibility for the turn of things at Bull Run, was thrown on Gen. Patterson. While Gen. Scott was in France, Gen. Patterson threw the responsibility on Gen. Scott. After Gen. Scott returned, there was an attempt to throw it back again on Gen. Patterson. Common-sense people look upon the powers at Washington as the concealers of truth and the cheaters of justice in the case, for the benefit of politicians. The N. Y. Tribune lifts the responsibility from all these, and casts it upon its God—making him responsible for all this mischief and misery as being a part of his purposes.

My objection is, that this is placing the responsibility on an irresponsible character—a character that the history and present condition of mankind show to have been unreliable for administering justice and establishing equity and righteousness—oftener and more than otherwise helping and strengthening the oppressor against the oppressed—thus encouraging ill-doers in their ill-doing. The doctrine is demoralizing and depraving. The tendency is to licentiousness and the shedding of blood. It prevents the doing of what most needs to be done, and provides for the doing of what most needs to be prevented being done. It is a doctrine fit to be in the mouths of priests in the pulpit, and of politicians perverting and prostituting the press to illegitimacy. It is not a doctrine fit to be in the mouths of virtuous, honest, rational men.

No, no—you must make *men* responsible, by making them accountable to *themselves* and to those *below* them, before you can make them the *establishers* of righteousness and peace.

The question being to know what the difference is, in moral effect, between recognizing the powers of Nature and recognizing powers superior to Nature, the answer is:—In an imagined power superior to Nature you recognize what you have no business to familiarize yourself with—no business to approach with requisitions—no business to know all about—no business to bring into subervieny if you can—no business to be on an equality with;—but you must be in awe of it; must recognize its right to rule in you and reign over you, for its own pleasure and purposes, though this puts you under the feet of your fellows:—whereas, in the powers of Nature you recognize only what you feel free to familiarize yourself with—what you may approach and know all about for your own benefit, enjoyment, usefulness and legitimate exaltation. The difference, then, is the difference between what is humiliating and what is exalting. It is the difference between being bound to abide in the ignorance that is dictated to you, and being at liberty to know

all you can. It is the difference between being a slave, with desire to make slaves of others, and being a man, with desire to make others men and freemen.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., June 15, '62.

### Letter from Mr. Overton.

MR. EDITOR:—I am traveling westward, and while passing I am endeavoring, as opportunity offers, to do something by way of canvassing for the *NEW REPUBLIC*; and I am so far encouraged by my success, as to have no doubt but that a few agents, taking hold energetically, would make it in every sense of the word a success. It only needs introducing to the notice of liberal reformatory minds, to ensure a good reception. There are many such all over the country, who greatly need such a journal, who know nothing of its existence, and will not unless by some means it is brought to their attention.

Battle Creek, situated at a junction of a creek by that name (from a battle fought there between the settlers and indians,) and the Kalamazoo, is a smart little village or city (every place in the West is a city,) of about six thousand inhabitants, many of whom are very liberal. The Spiritualists have a large congregation, to whom Rev. Mr. Peebles ministers regularly, and who comprise many of the best and most influential men of the place. The Second Adventists also have a large church, and a fine building for a printing and publishing office, with a steam press, on which is printed all the matter for the church in the States. The *Review and Herald* is their organ. The *World's Crisis*, published in Boston, is the organ of another branch (and another church, of course,) of Adventists, who differ from those in observing the first day of the week, instead of the seventh, as the Sabbath. It was Sunday when I called on them, and all were as busy as makers, or as the Devil is supposed to be among Spiritualists. Saturday all is different; nothing is done of a temporal nature to disturb the holiness of the day.

They have a huge tent which they carry with them where they wish to hold meetings, which meetings, Elder Hull told me, are perfectly free for anybody and everybody to express their opinions, and controvert, if they can, the doctrines advanced. This is liberal, certainly, and looks as if they had confidence in the power of truth, if not *their* truth, to sustain itself on equal terms with error.

Elder Hull, who is said to be a very talented man, and who certainly is a gentleman, held a debate here with Mr. Wadsworth, on the question of the relative merits, or moral influence, of Spiritual-

ism and Christianity, which I believe is being published in the *Herald of Progress*. It must have been ably contested on both sides, as Mr. W. is a powerful debater. It is understood that Mr. Wadsworth's Spiritualism did not include Christianity, nor Elder Hull's Christianity Spiritualism.

But as a believer in both Spiritualism and Christianity, I protest against this pitting of the one system against the other. Christianity, from the beginning to the end, is but a system of Spiritualism. The Bible is but a history of spirit manifestations. And so the Spiritualism of to-day—some of it—embraces the essential doctrines of Christianity. A portion of modern Spiritualists (small, perhaps, in proportion to the whole, but yet respectable in number and increasing,) profess at least to believe in the mission of Jesus, and the cardinal doctrines of the Bible, as sincerely as the Adventists; and these facts ought not to be disregarded. Pit the belief of J. S. Wadsworth against that of Moses Hull—or the Harmonial Philosophy of A. J. Davis against the Religion of Jesus—Pantheism against Theism, or Atheism against both; but don't pit Spiritualism against itself, or Christianity against itself. Don't make a "versus" where there isn't any. Especially ought Adventists to make this distinction, though the popular churches do not; for they are in an especial sense Spiritualists. They are, or profess to be, (and I have no reason to doubt the fact,) in open communion with the spirit world. Angels come to them, direct them in their business matters, unfold to them the mysteries of the kingdom, and warn them of things which must shortly be. These revelations they accept as coming from the same source as Bible revelations, and of equal authority, if I am rightly informed. They come in the same manner, under the same conditions, and in accordance with the same law as those which come to Spiritualists, and as they came of old. If the belief in these communications makes me a Spiritualist, why does it not make them Spiritualists. A short time since I believed as Mr. Wadsworth does as to the merits of Christianity. I was a Spiritualist then, but that fact did not make me such. I believe in spiritual communications now, and I suppose am still a Spiritualist, though a believer in both the first and the second coming of Jesus.

C. M. O.

Harmonia, Mich., June, 1862.

The American people are under treatment. They need to be cured of their malignant hate and scorn of four millions of their fellow-countrymen, hitherto held in a worse than Egyptian bondage. The disease is chronic and deep-seated; but the treatment is heroic, and must ultimately prevail. Have faith, be patient, and on with the war for the Union!

—[New York Tribune.

## THE NEW REPUBLIC.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, JUNE 28, 1862.

THE NEW REPUBLIC is published weekly, at one dollar a year: six months, fifty cents; single copies (post paid) three cents.

For sale at No. 233 Superior Street.

Remittances should be made in bills of Ohio, Eastern Indiana State, or Detroit banks, Treasury notes, coin or stamps. Address,

NEW REPUBLIC,  
CLEVELAND, Ohio.

### Socialism.

The New York Tribune, in speaking of the bill granting land to actual settlers, proposes that the people in their several localities, or at least numbers of families acquainted with each other, combine, pay the expenses of an agent to select for them a favorable locality, and then, with a doctor, teacher, clergyman, &c., of their own choice, emigrate in a body to the locality chosen, or at least gather there, and thus enjoy from the first many at least of the advantages of civilization and social life, which are denied to common pioneers, who scatter about, or remain a long time isolated, the "nearest neighbor being perhaps miles off, and then a rough, repulsive customer, with whom we desire the least intercourse possible."

Now there could possibly be nothing more sensible and practical than this advice. And it embraces the whole theory, and if adopted would embrace the whole practice, of Socialism. Like all other propositions for the improvement of the moral, social, intellectual, religious, or physical condition of the race, that have been anyway out of the beaten track, Socialism has met the determined and violent opposition of the Conservative world, who accept nothing not time-honored, and has been associated, in the minds of the the people at large, with some kind or other of innovation upon the established morality and order.

Progressive ideas have all a more or less intimate connection, and Socialism may, indirectly, have an important connection with revolutionary or radical ideas, correct or false, in relation to marriage, and the general association, in the various departments, of the sexes. So may the emigration of the Pilgrims from the Mother Country have had a direct bearing upon the reforms that have sprung up in this Country as a natural and legitimate outgrowth of the mental freedom, which that very movement of the Pilgrims, bigoted as they themselves were, had the direct effect to establish.

Socialism has been accepted and adopted by individuals and bodies of people, of every conceivable shade of religious belief, and social practice. The Oneida Perfectionists, while, if I understand them, shockingly un-Orthodox in their social theories and life, are strictly pious, take Jesus Christ for their pattern, and in all their religious belief are the farthest possible removed from everything like Infir-

idity. The Mormons, though un-Orthodox, yet adopt the Bible as their standard, and seemingly are far ahead of all other sects in following, practically, the patriarchs and prophets of Bible times. The Shakers, somewhat peculiar in their religious views, are yet the farthest removed from everything in the shape of popular immorality, and yet they, and the Orthodox Bible Perfectionists, are, perhaps, the most striking illustrations of successful Socialism. The Berlin Heights Socialists, though not an organized body, and representing almost every shade of religious opinion, from moderate Orthodoxy to avowed Atheism, are, next to the Shakers, without much doubt, freer from every form of immorality or excess than any other class of people. So, if one were familiar with the character and history of the various social movements that have been attempted in this and other countries, and the religious and social views of the individuals engaged in them, it might be shown that they were characterized by no theories, in regard to love or marriage, peculiar to Socialists as a class. Socialists have no such peculiar views; and are no more likely to adopt views, in relation to these matters, different from those generally received, than are other people, except as one step in progress prepares the way for another. On this principle Socialists are the more likely to be investigators and experimenters in relation to these questions so vitally connected with man's social well-being, and to adopt, in the aggregate, a great variety of views and theories, just as the people of this country are more divided up into religious sects and parties, and, temporarily at least, more favorable to "isms," than are the people of the Old World, who are yet to pass through the transition period, which is necessarily characterized by inconsistency, vacillation, change.

What, then, are the essential characteristics of Socialism? The Tribune has suggested a practical illustration of them. Socialism is not the adoption of any particular moral, religious or social theories or practices, but it is the claiming and exercising of the right, on the part of any number of individuals, of selecting their own locality, their own associates, and adopting their own theories, rules and regulations, and in all respects instituting such arrangements, and living such life, not conflicting with the rights of others, as in their own estimation shall best promote their own happiness and well-being.

It is a question that has been raised, whether these classes have the right thus to institute social regulations of their own, which, possibly, may be in direct conflict with the established arrangements; and the most serious opposition, in one way or another, has been made to the carrying out of such attempts. The Mormons, Perfectionists, Free Lovers, and even the Shakers, have all in their turn been bitterly opposed, but, as in all such cases, the opposition has only seemed to afford them additional strength; and they are all of them, to-day, whatever may be said of their peculiar views, on various



questions, examples of the success of the true and fundamental idea of Socialism: The right of individuals or classes to adopt such theories and practical life, as in their esteem shall best promote their own and the general good.

### Motive.

The following passage is quoted by the Investigator, or rather by one of its Contributors, and credited to the **NEW REPUBLIC**:—

"Motives, say some, control the man—but it is the man that makes the motive, rather than the motive the man, as Coleridge truly remarks."

This passage occurs in an article of one of our Contributors. It is the design of the Conductor of this Journal to make it the medium for the communication of all sorts of ideas on all sorts of questions; and it is a pleasure to him to publish articles from a writer at once so able and so conservative as the author of the above; but he will hold himself responsible for no ideas or sentiments of his Contributors; and he would prefer that no article should be credited to the **NEW REPUBLIC**, that does not appear as editorial.

If the writer of the above quotation means to say that man is not a creature of circumstances, and is not compelled to believe or disbelieve according to evidence, I do not agree with him. Man is in himself a positive power, and in an important sense, and to a great degree, is capable of molding conditions. I believe in the almost omnipotence of Will, and the positiveness of Character to all else, but after all man is what he is because circumstances are what they are. He may to a great extent be superior to present and external circumstances, but in the hands of the great Fate, man is entirely negative, a mere creature; the "centerstance" is itself a circumstance.

### Now is the Time.

The first quarter of the publication of the **NEW REPUBLIC** has nearly expired. A good many have availed themselves of the privilege of sending three months' subscriptions. We were glad of all such subscribers. The question now is, whether they consider the **NEW REPUBLIC** worth to them the money it costs. If so, we trust they will renew at an early day. It is a decided convenience to publishers, to have subscriptions, that are to be renewed, renewed before their expiration. It saves extra labor, and enables the publisher to make his calculations as to the number of copies to print, &c.

A great proportion of our three months' subscribers are in clubs, and some of these were got up by traveling agents. Will not each member of these clubs see to it that the club is made up again, with as many additions as possible, and the money and names forwarded promptly? And let any single subscribers look for names to send with their own. There is no other way in which you can help a paper so much as by sending clubs of subscribers. Good articles are always acceptable, but the subscribers

are the main thing; and somebody must procure them. You will each do what you feel called upon to do, and we shall find no fault.

Our friends will by this time, perhaps, be glad to learn in regard to the reception the **NEW REPUBLIC** has met, and what its future prospects are. Honesty and frankness compel the saying, that, judging from the expressions that have come to us, the Paper is liked as well as we could ask or expect. It will not be our practice to publish flattering notices and testimonials that we receive. Two quotations, from lecturers, traveling extensively, may suffice. A lecturer at the West says: "I have yet to find a single person who has seen the **NEW REPUBLIC**, that does not like it." Another at the East remarks: "I have found that liberal persons, on becoming acquainted with the **NEW REPUBLIC**, invariably subscribe for it."

In a word, our Journal is not what it might be, and not what we expect it will be, but the decision of its readers is such that we are bound, in modesty and deference to their opinion, to conclude that it is worth publishing; and we expect to continue it, at the cost of whatever exertion. From present indications, we confidently expect a gratifying success, but it will require a very large circulation, to ensure the publication of eight hundred and thirty-two double column pages a year, on paper that costs half the subscription price, and in all respects in the most careful and laborious manner, without the most toilsome exertion, and severest personal sacrifice.

### Notices.

**WESTERN OLIVE BRANCH.**—By some means the Western Olive Branch, which we have all along wanted in exchange, and which the Editor assures us has been regularly sent, has failed to reach us until recently. We gladly put it into our list of Reform Journals. The Editor, Mrs. Carrie Filkins Bush, is a woman of rare energy and perseverance, and entirely devoted, body and soul, to the cause of Reform. We have an especial interest in all Reform Journals, and all who are laboring earnestly and honestly for human good, but we have a very especial interest in the Western Olive Branch, and believing as we do in the efficacy of a combination of prayer and will, we donate these in liberal measure towards its continued success. Monthly. Fifty cents a year. Indianapolis, Ind.

**DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.**—Edited by Frederick Douglass, the eloquent and talented fugitive slave. Having for many years subscribed for and read the journals Mr. Douglass has published, we have firmly settled down upon the opinion that he is a very readable writer. Perhaps no other man has done so much to inspire the colored people of this country with a spirit of manliness and self-respect, as Frederick Douglass. Himself a triumphant vindication of the colored man's ability to rise to a position of at least equality with the white race, he has exerted himself energetically and nobly to bring his race up to his own level. May he live long to put to "shame and confusion of face" the deniers of man's equality with man. Monthly. One dollar a year. Rochester, N. Y.

## The Protection of Society from Crime.

BY W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

### CHAPTER II.

#### THE NATURAL LAWS.

Volney, in his "Law of Nature," in treating of the natural laws, says that they should be regarded as "real commands, to which man is to conform, under the express penalty of punishment attached to their infraction"; and George Combe, throughout his invaluable work, the "Constitution of Man," takes the same view of the subject. He says: "On the whole, therefore, no adequate reason appears for regarding the consequences of physical accidents in any other light than as direct punishments for the infringements of the natural laws, and indirectly as a means of accomplishing moral and religious improvement."

My judgment and my moral sentiments revolt at these views of the subject, because they make God appear to be less just and merciful than even an ordinarily good man. Allow me to illustrate this:

A man, knowing that it is raining, and that the rain freezes as it falls, and that consequently the steps at his door and the pavement before them are covered with ice, ventures out upon a charitable duty, and in doing so strives at every step to maintain, in its fullest integrity, the law of gravitation; nevertheless he loses his equilibrium, falls, and breaks his arm. This injury is regarded by many natural moralists and philosophers as a direct punishment for breaking the law of gravitation. A sportsman has the fire-lock of his gun caught by a bush; hence it is discharged, and his neighbor, fifty yards distant, is killed. Now there is no law in any civilized country that would inflict punishment for this unfortunate event. Now admit these two cases to be facts, could any morally constituted man avoid the inference that civil society in the second instance manifested more justice and benevolence than God did in the first? Was there any motive to crime or wrong in either case? The response is most indubitably negative. There was in neither case any intentional delinquency, hence there was no crime, and consequently no just demand for punishment. And yet the former, though he strove to avoid the delinquency, had his arm fractured for his unintentional delinquency.

The whole advantage in favor of the justice and humanity in the second instance is not all told. In the first instance, the only sufferer was the delinquent himself, but in the second, another individual. In other respects the two cases are alike—both happened without motive or intention. In the second instance no civilized court would inflict punishment, although society suffered by it in the loss of one of its members. In the first instance, although no injury could result to any second party, yet God's justice could not spare him, but as a penalty for doing what he did not desire to do, but on the

contrary used his utmost ability to avoid doing, breaks his arm. I envy not those whose moral sense forces them to such a conclusion with reference to God's providence.

Punishment is a reward in pain or suffering for crime committed. It is pain inflicted for crime; and crime is a wicked act, which cannot happen without a criminal intention to do injury to some second person. According to our common law, there can be no crime where there is "a want or defect of will," and this will must be vicious; therefore infants, idiots and lunatics cannot commit crime, because with them will is defective. Actions, by the same law, by "misfortune or chance," those by "ignorance or mistake" and those by "compulsion" are not criminal, because they indicate no vicious intention or volition. If we admit the necessity or expediency of punishment, it will be admitted that these distinctions are just and proper.

With reference to the natural laws, no distinctions exist; the man who takes poison by accident suffers in common with the man who takes it with the motive to self-destruction; for infants, idiots and lunatics, there is no more exemption than for Bacons and Websters. If, then, we are to regard the consequences that follow delinquency to the natural laws as punishments, then we must place the great Legislator of the Universe in the same category with our wild savages, who inflict the same penalty upon those who kill by accident as upon those who kill by design or with a vicious will.

In conclusion, then, I am constrained to add that I cannot avoid regarding it as an outrageous abuse of philosophy and language, to regard the fracture of the arm in the case above supposed, and all similar phenomena, as direct, or even indirect, punishments for delinquency to the law of gravitation, or any other natural law.

It is now pertinent for my readers to inquire for information in relation to the light in which we should view such phenomena. I explain: Those laws or rules of action which all classes of philosophers denominate the natural laws, do exist. It is furthermore assumed by all peoples that a supreme intelligence, denominated God in our language, founded them, and his motives for so doing need constitute no part of this enquiry; let it suffice, however, to say that all of the wise and good of our species who have investigated these laws, have concluded that they are indispensable to us—that in their establishment our greatest good and happiness, as a race, were wisely, justly, and kindly consulted.

Now, if we conclude that God is immutable—that his laws are like himself, and that in the founding of his laws he aimed at the harmony of the Universe and the greatest good and happiness of his creatures, as races, then it follows that it is not in his power to save individuals from the consequences of delinquency to his, the natural laws. If mutability be included in the idea of almighty power, then such

power does not belong to him. . . Admit, I repeat, the immutability of his character, and the conclusion I have arrived at is irresistible, unless it can be shown that his laws are mutable, though he is immutable. But grant this, and there is an end of science. But thus far in the progress of the world's investigations, the natural laws have been found to be immutable, and so they are conceded by the universal consent of philosophers.

If we contemplate God as a philanthropist, we must arrive at the same conclusion. For if to save a man from breaking his arm, leg or neck by falling from off a house, he were to abrogate the law of gravitation, or any other law that might be involved, he would thus, to save one individual, derange his entire Universe, and bring suffering to the remaining millions of his creatures.

We may concede further, that it is possible, in the course of the vast future, that the species will come to understand the natural laws generally, and will acquire a disposition to obey them; nevertheless such is the character of our faculties, that we shall still fail to obey them, but probably in a less degree than at present; hence we may concede that those phenomena which we denominate accidents will always happen.

I am reminded by the advocates of punishment that pain and suffering attend those injuries which result from the infringement of the natural laws, and therefore the intention was punishment. I admit the fact, but deny the inference. On the contrary, I affirm that God cannot consistently with the immutability or philanthropy of his character, prevent those injuries which result from delinquency to his laws. I also affirm that his providence bears ample evidence that he was, in the founding of his laws, neither indifferent nor negligent to the consequences of delinquency to his laws; nay, more, that he has manifested the most unbounded benevolence toward those who become injured, is clearly apparent. If he had been indifferent to those of his unfortunate creatures who become injured by their delinquency, he would have made no provision for the healing or restoration of the injured parts, and if he had been benevolent without wisdom, he would have absolved them from all pain. But in his wisdom, he attached pain to the process of recovery under certain circumstances, and for certain kind and useful purposes. Firstly, without pain we could not in many instances know the extent of the injury; and secondly, without pain there would be no guarantee for that quiet and repose which are essential to recovery.

Mr. Combe says that broken bones are attended with great pain. I infer from this statement that he has never had the experience of one. I have had a fracture of both of my legs, but not at the same time. When the first fracture occurred, my habits were not what they ought to have been, and the treatment was worse, and consequently I suffered much. When the second happened, which was

much more extensive than the first, my habits were at least very nearly what they should have been, and the treatment was of the same character; consequently the injury did not affect my general health. I gained flesh every day, and suffered none, except when the position and repose of my leg was disturbed. But suppose it had given me no pain upon motion,—is it not probable that by motion during sleep or otherwise, its recovery would have been defeated? Was it not, then, a great mercy that the leg gave me pain as frequently as it was moved by its own muscular action?

I conclude, then, that God has not the power to prevent these accidents and injuries, compatibly with either his immutability or philanthropy; and in view of this state of things his benevolence and wisdom made provision for the most proper and speedy restoration, compatibly with his general providence. If punishment had been contemplated, the restorative process would have defeated it.

As another evidence of the truth of the preceding arguments, I will remark that I have never known an individual who regarded his sufferings under such circumstances as having been intended as penalties or punishments, but as the necessary sequents of unavoidable actions. Further, during the forty years of my observation and reflection in this relation, I have not observed a single unfortunate circumstance in human society to which the preceding argument, or some modification of it, was not as applicable as to the cases assumed for illustration.

Man exists in relation to many classes of law, as the automatic or organic, the animal, the domestic, the social, the religious, the moral, business, mechanical, chemical and municipal, and he is so constituted that suffering is as inseparable from their infraction, respectively, as an effect is from its cause; and the suffering is very generally reformatory in its influence. It is not felt as an act of another, and for the purpose of revenge, or punishment. It awakens the moral sentiments, subdues the animal propensities, induces reflection, and the result is generally an increase of patience, forbearance and prudence. In fine, it rarely fails to improve the character, and hence the reason why human character generally improves with age, and the contrary only happens with vicious or depraved organizations.

Under the administration of our conventional statutes, punishment is not a necessary sequent, for many escape it; it cannot therefore be regarded as a direct and unavoidable effect of crime, but of the arbitrary causes which conspire to inflict it; and further, it is not always just, even when thought to be expedient; because of the errors in the rules of law, in the judgment of the court, dishonesty or incapacity of witnesses, and the impossibility of a thorough appreciation of all the attending circumstances, which conspire to defeat it.

Punishment, furthermore, originates in the lower or animal faculties, such as are common to dogs and

other brutes, and is usually directed by an intellectually-misguided conscience; and so far as the punishment originated in the animal faculties, just so far will it arouse the same faculties in the delinquent. He knows that the punishment is not a necessary sequent of his own acts; and the malignity and desire of vengeance which he observes displayed toward him, is conclusive to him that it does not flow from the human sentiments; hence he infers that it is intended as a forced consideration for his crime, and consequently his animal nature rises in rebellion, and if reflection should be induced, it will not be directed to his rudimentally moral nature, but to the means by which he may evade the penalty, and obtain vengeance upon society.

Punishment, therefore, has just as great a tendency to make men worse, as suffering has to make them better; and the same difference exists in their influences respectively upon the minds of those who witness them.

The difference between suffering and punishment has not been noted by any one, so far as I have learned, more particularly for the purpose of rendering the former a remedial agent for the protection of society. As suffering attends punishment, and may also obtain with or without being a penalty, I have found it difficult to enable people to comprehend the difference; and for the reason that people generally easily perceive resemblances, but very few differences, more especially when they are such as exist in quality; nevertheless, all can be made to appreciate the difference between the cases which may be cited to illustrate the qualitative differences and their consequences.

A gentleman in crossing the river on the ice, slips through and drowns, and as a very natural consequence his wife suffers; but will any one contend that her suffering is a penalty or punishment for any crime or wrong she may have committed? I presume not. And does not such suffering usually improve the character?

Another woman is in the state prison for having tried to poison her neighbor. Does she not suffer also? But does any one believe that she will come out any better than she went in? Would society upon the faith of it be willing to receive her? Why not? For the best of all reasons—it is felt by all that there is an incompatibility between punishment and moral improvement.

The difference, therefore, between the two kinds of suffering, is this: The first, though painful, exhausts itself and affords a feeling of relief, and under the circumstances it is normal, approved of by our moral sentiments, and commands the moral sympathy of others. The second is attended with suspicion, jealousy, hatred, obstinacy, concealment, and intentional delinquency when practicable; all of which is positively incompatible with moral improvement.

I trust that all of my readers have now a clear conception of the difference between normal and penal suffering, and also between their necessary or consequent influence upon the character.

### **"Thank God, and Renew Your Faith in that Providence."**

The New York Daily Tribune for June 18 copies the act of Congress, "prohibiting slavery forever in all Territories of the United States," and with propriety congratulates the Country on its passage. The Tribune says of it: "Had this act been passed in 1784—when Mr. Jefferson proposed one essentially the same—the fratricidal war in which we are now involved would never have existed." The Tribune's next paragraph closes thus: "Champions of Freedom and Justice for All! thank God that you have lived to see this day, and renew your faith in that Providence which permits no generous effort to fail of its ultimate triumph." Had this Providence power, in 1784, to procure the passage of such an act, and thus to prevent all the ignorance, cruelty, wretchedness and misery that have resulted from the contrary course? If it had not that power then, whence has it derived that power since? Is "that Providence" a dependent power for what is to be done in the future? If so, where is the reliability? On the other hand, if it has all this while possessed the requisite power, what has there been wanting but the disposition—the good-will for its exercise?

While such a Providence is preached, and people are by such preaching kept ignorant enough to have faith in it, wars, with their atrocities and sufferings, will never cease. "The Lord is a man of war." "The great Wisdom" is a man of war. All gods have always been men of war, and always will be. We shall never have good-will and righteousness among men until they are under the influence of men of peace.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

### **The Growth of the Soul.**

There is an atmosphere around each soul, as there is around each tree, and this God takes care of as he does the air, and only in a measured time can the soul gather from it what it contains of nourishment. The soul, therefore, must have time for growth or grow unsoundly. The soul's sympathies are the soul's foliage, and only when the just relations exist between sympathetic absorption and the direct imbibition of the nutrient juices, does the soul grow strongly and healthily. The prime condition of such a growth as this, is time. Storms must wrestle with it. Winds must breathe through it. Rains must descend upon it, year after year. In darkness and in light it must stand and absorb those elements that minister to its forces and fibre. A soul thus growing will become larger and more beautiful than when forced at the root, beyond power of absorption in the leaves.—[J. G. Holland.

## PROSPECTUS

OF THE

## NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The **NEW REPUBLIC** has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammelled manner, but in no partizan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reform, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes; the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the **NEW REPUBLIC** will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the

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MARGARET B. FLANDERS.

SOUTH GARDINER, Nov. 20, 1860.

This is to certify that I have been troubled with the bleeding, blind, and itching Piles for twenty-six years. I have consulted a number of physicians, but found no relief until last Spring I commenced taking Dr. J. L. Lovell's medicine, and in three weeks I was relieved, and am now enjoying good health. I would recommend all that are troubled with Piles to call and see Dr. J. L. Lovell.

MARTIN WARD.

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This is to certify that having been afflicted with Disease of the Liver for twelve years, and having other complaints combined with that, I placed myself under the care of Dr. J. L. Lovell, of Yarmouth, Me., in January, 1859, and received great benefit from him; being so much relieved within a few months, that I could lie upon my left side, which I had not done during that time.

AMANDA ESTES.

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